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Fig. 35. The Door Part of a Dwelling in Olanga (Essángbuak Family), Southern Cameroons.

tail. This is wedged into the door opening in such a fashion that 342
the walls fit into the notches. Sometimes it is given an attractive form by being flattened near the end and having bands of palm plaited around it. Along the sides, on the other hand, the people content themselves with single strips of raffia stalk as door lining.

In the interior a thick post or a number of thinner posts (andɛ̃́i) stands at both sides of the door opening (mbɛ̄i I) (see Figs. 37 h, 38). Between these posts are wedged one or two diagonally placed poles, by means of which the piece of bark that serves as a door (evĭ́n e nda, evĭ́n e mbɛ̄i = house bark or door bark) is held fast. Sliding doors are more rarely encountered. These run between /72/ the wall and a lath at the top and bottom of the door opening; in the daytime they are pushed to the side and at night pulled in front of the opening. We find door posts even where there are sliding doors, since they primarily serve the purpose of preventing strangers from looking into the hut during the daytime. Most doors made of bark close poorly because they warp. Frequently the "door" consists of nothing /Fig. 36 appears here in the original text/ more than a number of narrow bark pieces that are loosely

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Fig. 51. Fang Women Bringing Firewood from the Plantations.

season. /Fig. 49 appears here in the original text./ Once the bush is entirely cleared (with the exception of the shade trees), a few days are allowed to elapse until the sun has dried the wood. Then fire is set to it, and the farm is "burned," a dzǐge tsí. At the end of the dry season one can see columns of rising smoke throughout the land, and on walking expeditions one often has the dubious pleasure of having to pass such a burning farm. A great number of birds of prey, especially the parasite kite, circle around the new farm, heedless of the heat, in order to catch every crawling thing that flees from the fire. As soon as the rainy season comes, the clearing of the farm comes to an end, and now "the food is laid." The men move the charred and unburned remains of the trees /Fig. 50 appears here in the original text/ /87/ to one side or heap them up on the farm itself as boundary markers (see Plate 7). The women remove the smaller branches, and it is the women who from this time on dominate the picture, sowing or planting the vegetables, pulling out the weeds which during the rainy season soon become rank, and taking in the harvest. All these, incidentally, are lighter

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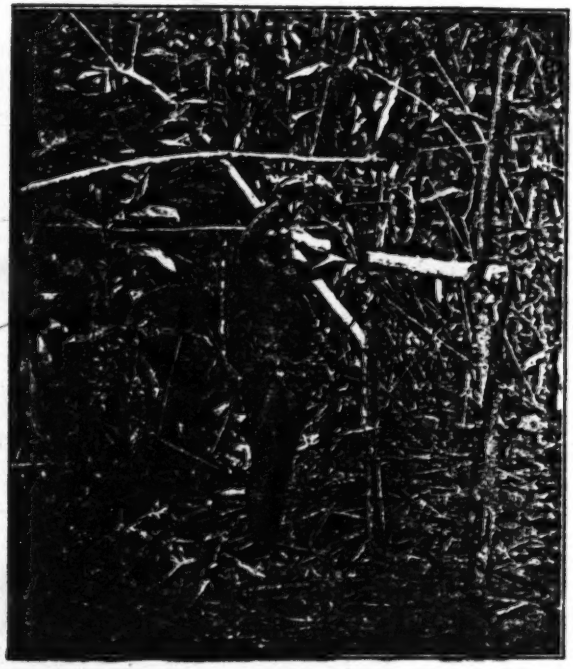

Fig. 81. Lemur Trap.

for the clamping device. Transverse sticks (n) are squeezed between the upper ends of the prongs and firmly tied down. The releasing device (Drawing 2, z) is then tied to the rope (y); this device is a network connecting (y) with the vice (b). The arrangement of the trap can be seen in Drawing 2. The clamp (c) goes around behind the gallows (a) and clamps in front between (a) and the vice; then a noose in each case passes in front between the cross sticks n 1 and n 2 and in the back between n 3 and n 4 (see Drawing 1) and is placed in the opening. A considerable amount of dry leaves covers up the trap. The animal climbs over the branch /132/ /Fig. 82 appears here in the original text/ in order to get from one side of the clearing to the other and lands in the trap which often works so well that the animal is seized by both nooses at once and pressed with great force against the little sticks.

This trap is set up primarily for nocturnal lemurs (1) and for

1. Potto, Perodicticus batesi

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Fig. 90. Hunter with a Crossbow.

411 Although this weapon is much more dangerous in the hands of the natives than a muzzle loader, it is nonetheless never used in war, and even before the introduction of the rifle is not supposed to have been a military weapon. /143/

Section 6

000 Staple Foods and Indulgents

1. Staple foods. Raw materials: meat diet (human flesh, edible higher and lower animals); plant diet (wild plants with edible leaves, fruit); spices (pepper, salt and methods of obtaining it); oil;

1: Tessmann--167 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 111. Men from Angónneuai (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

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of metal). -- Breast ornaments. -- Arm ornaments. -- Finger ornaments. -- Leg ornaments. -- Toe ornaments. -- Profusion of ornaments.

3. Care of the body. -- Cleanliness. -- Parasites and their removal. -- Care of head hair. -- Underarm and pubic hair. -- Care of the teeth. -- Salves with oil: reasons, oil plants, oil from the raffia palm, oil from the oil palm (distribution, varieties, production of pressed, boiled, and washed oil, and of palm seed oil). -- Smearing with dyes: occasions, red dye (preparation, vessels for storing it), white and black dye.
4. Adornment of the body. Origin. -- Kinds. -- Scars by burning. --

000 Ornamental scars. -- Painting. -- Tattooing /Ed., in the German, Tätowierung/ (1): origin; purpose;

1. The Lübeck Museum for Anthropology writes Tatanierung.

parts of the body tattooed; execution; varieties; payment of the tattoo artist. -- Mutilation of the teeth: reason; execution.

1. Dress.

291 The native dress of the men is a strip of material drawn between the legs and folded in the back and the front over a belt. The strip is about 90 centimeters long, 70 centimeters wide, and made of the bark of various fig /173/ trees (Fig. 111). The bark cloth is left either in its natural color and in that case shows all [386] gradations from almost pure white to a dark reddish brown, or it is dyed a resplendent red by means of red wood and is often so magnificently prepared that one can distinguish it from European cloth only by looking at it closely.

291 177 Nowadays European cloth is to be found everywhere as a result of trade, and it is supplanting the original dress which is so becoming. European cloth is sometimes worn just like the bark cloth, but usually it is wrapped smoothly around the loins with or without a belt (see Fig. 111).

291 281 Only once did I see in place of the bark cloth a narrow loin apron made of monkey skin, which at the upper end was drawn over the hip string and the rest fell down in long strips (etõ'b-mabă,s).

291 The belt (kă'na IV) consists of fiber strings with or without beads, a braided palm band (Fig. 112), or hide. The simple strings are to be seen only on boys or people who pay little attention to their appearance; the beaded belts, in contrast to those of the /Figs. 112 and 113 appear here in the original text/ women,

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[281]

are single strings. The braided belts, Figure 113 (bă'b IV, Fang), apparently occur only in the south. The hide belts are either narrow bands, usually made of monkey hide, or broad bands of antelope hide whose hairy side is first shaved smooth and then incised with all kinds of patterns. Belts made of the stalks of the bindweed (abǭdembē, that is, "those who dress poorly," from bōt, "to dress," and mbē, "the poor, the bad") are regarded as the most inferior. They are worn only by people who are very negligent about their appearance.

Fig. 112. Fiber Belts. (b) Decorated with cowrie shells.

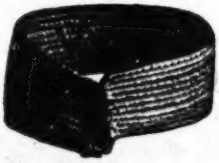

Fig. 113. Braided Belt.

Both in form and material, the women's dress is fundamentally different from that of the men. It consists of two pieces, the front apron and the back apron, both being held against the body by a hip band made of hide strips, fiber, bead strings, or European material. The front apron in its simplest form (which is found among the northern Pangwe) consists of a long, narrow, dry banana leaf which covers the pudendum and the perineum between the legs and is folded in front to form a triangular flap which is wrapped over the hip string. Otherwise, it is made either of bark cloth or a piece of hide. The back apron among the Fang is a small, modest piece of bark cloth which occurs in two forms. The first type is a band three and a half meters long and 23 centimeters wide sewed together out of many (eight to nine) pieces, /174/ which by means of pleating is shortened to a small apron 24 centimeters long and 13 to 27 centimeters wide. A string drawn through the upper edge gathers it in, like a fan. The second form consists of from two to eight small, quadrangular pieces of bark which are gathered

● 291 in at the top, like a fan, and stuck one after another into a clamp (abás) (Fig. 114). This clamp consists of from five to eight short sticks of wood which are wrapped with brass wire or brass plate at one end, are placed next to each other like a grating, and are then tied together with a strip of palm.

Fig. 114. Fang Woman's Back Apron of Bark Cloth.

Among the other Pangwe, the back apron is made of raffia fiber and hangs down like a horse's docked tail (Fig. 115). It is called mfŏk I, mfŏō-zăm (zăm, "raffia palm"), etŭă, azŏm, azŏn, ebŭ'ĭ, ekŭ'm.

When at work in the fields, fishing, and so forth, the women take off their raffia tailpieces and bark aprons in order to spare

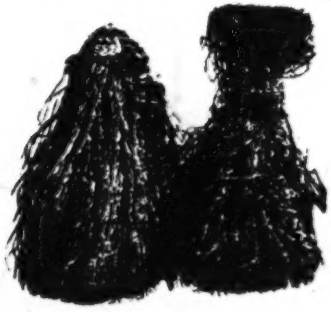

Fig. 115. Ntum Woman's Back Apron of Raffia Fiber.

them and as a substitute put an herb with soft leaves, if possible the Brillantaisia (ebūgebŏ'ń), or ferns under their belts. One also often sees them in this working dress on the way home to the village while their raffia tailpiece or bark apron splendidly adorns the top of the basket filled with fruits of the field or firewood. Men never wear leaves, not even while they are fishing.

1: Tessmann--171 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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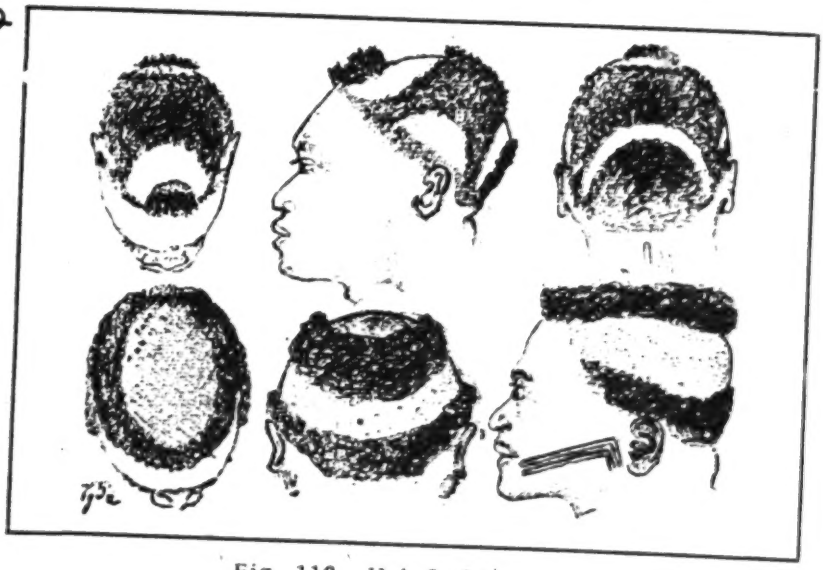

Fig. 116. Hair Styles.

291 During the first years of their lives, small children usually go around naked, girls up to the age of five, boys up to their seventh [304] year. The boys' circumcision does not mark a definite limit in this matter since one sees uncircumcised boys clothed and circumcised boys naked, /Fig. 115 appears here in the original text/ but they do not like to wait long after this occasion. Children, especially girls, may also be clad in a piece of cloth as soon as they start to walk.

302 Nowadays, the Pangwe do not have a uniform hair style. We find an abundance of different forms among them -- even within the same village -- which shows that, like all Negroes, the Pangwe loves to give rein to his mode in dressing his hair for ornamental purposes.

Children usually have their heads shaved at an early age, either completely smooth or /175/ /Fig. 116 appears here in the original text/ retaining a tuft of hair either in the back or the front or a fringe. Half-grown boys wear their hair long or shaved in patterns.

Among adults the hair is either quite long and neglected (Plate 13) or it is shaved quite smooth. In other cases, it is cut

end in a knot (2). Twelve such longitudinal braids are placed

2. In braiding, one frequently greases his fingers and twists the strips slightly.

close to one another. The space between these and the edge of the cap is filled by pigtails made in the same way but running at right angles to the others; at the edge they are covered by three rows of pigtails all the way around and are sewed to the hide. /179/ For this one requires a needle made of bark, whose tip has been hardened in the fire and whose other end has a slit for the fiber thread. The pigtails jutting out over the edge are cut off. A fringe (mbɔ̄m), made of a piece of raffia pith, is put over the crown of the cap. The piece of pith is cut into on both its narrow sides so that it will bend more readily, and over it is sewn a piece of material on which is set a stirrup of the same width, made of palm strips and studded with brass nails -- these stirrups have been described above in connection with the inner surface of the cap. On either side of the fringe there are a few longitudinal rows of red beads strung on raffia fiber. Another decoration on the caps consists of pieces of leather sewn on at the sides, which have cowrie shells or white buttons stitched on them and from which are hung tassels of pineapple strings strung with beads (see Fig. 118, foreground).

The ornamental caps of the Fang are not made of hides but of palm strips, parallel to each other, which are braided with blackened Triumfetta fiber in such a way that one strip is always skipped, and thus a chessboard pattern is created.

Older people for the most part do not wear bead ornaments in their hair -- insofar as they still have any -- but on the contrary wear simpler hair arrangements which, incidentally, are supposed to have been more fashionable at one time.

Among head [illegible]rings we need only mention caps made from the hide of monkeys, civet cats, or of the ichneumon, Bdeogale nigripes Puch., as well as imported red caps which are worn by chiefs and other elderly "notables." Hats made from leaves of grass (Paspalum) sewn together resemble our ordinary straw hats in shape

291 and, according to one informant, are supposed to be imitations 177 of European models.

302 Dressing the beard is rare among the Pangwe, since most of them -- like many other Negroes -- pluck out such hair. In isolated instances there are men with beautiful full beards (Fig. 11) or with pointed beards whose tip has been twisted into a little pigtail and covered with cowrie shells or beads. Still others make two or quite a number of pigtails from their beards (Fig. 12); mustaches are rarely to be seen and are quite insignificant.

2. Ornaments.

301 Among the Pangwe the urge to beautify oneself dominates man and woman equally to a considerable degree. All kinds of ornamental pendants are attached to every possible part of the body. In their hair (Fig. 120) they stick a feather which is often cut out in patterns (a, b), a porcupine's tail (c), a wooden arrow, bones /180/ /Fig. 120 appears here in the original text/ (d), brass coiled in a spiral (e), a comb (see Fig. 139), and also, in rare cases -- usually on the occasion of a dance -- flowers, for instance, those of Costus (mién), and attractive or fragrant leaves, such as those of the Leguminosa Cryptosepalum aff. staudtii Harms (andu-ń) and of the herb called afuń. The latter two are worn only by women and [304] usually in two bundles behind the ear. The ear lobe is pierced and provided with an ornament only among a few Mwai.

301 Nose ornaments (Fig. 121), on the other hand, enjoy great 304 popularity; they are attached in a hole pierced through the septum and not to the side of the nose. The requisite operation is carried out on children between six and eight years of age. /Fig. 121 appears here in the original text./ First the person concerned [304] presses the leaves of the Aframomum (adzǒm), which have been warmed in the fire, to the septum in order to make it softer. Then the medicine man takes a stick of raffia stalk, a quill from the porcupine, or any other pointed tool and drills a hole through the septum with it after he has picked out the right place with the index finger of his other hand. He now pushes a small piece of stalk

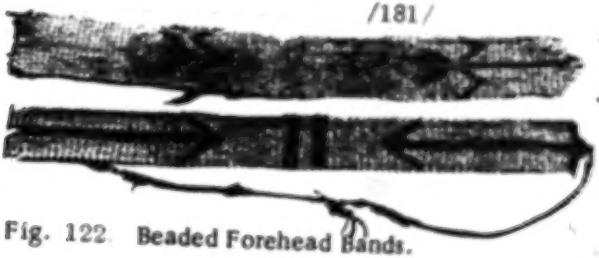

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Fig. 122 Beaded Forehead Bands.

Fig. 123. Necklace of the Fruit of Coix lacryma (Job's-tears).

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Fig. 124. Ntum Woman from Alén (Essandun Family).

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Fig. 132. Fang (Omwang Family), Spanish Guinea.

301 Breast ornaments are to be found chiefly among women in the form of strings of beads and rough brass chains that hang very low. As one might imagine, these can be recommended only for older ladies.

Especially among women, the arms and legs are just as profusely covered with ornaments. The upper and lower arm or both are adorned with spirals of imported brass wire or with hoops from imported brass tubing (Fig. 133). For the upper arm, the spirals are shorter, while for the lower arm they are usually so long that they completely cover it. The less common upper arm rings made of strips of Laccosperma or Trachyphrynium are placed close together and joined by a pretty braid of Rhectophyllum (Fig. 134). Only men wear strips of black sheepskin on their upper arms; these match the forehead bands of the same material. Rings or bands around the /185/ wrist are among the most popular ornaments. Even children put the stalks of the Rubiacea Megalopus mannii K. Sch. (ngone III) in spirals around their arms. Adults -- men and women -- wear rings made from liana stalks, braided palm bands (Fig. 135), the hairs of an elephant's tail, cast brass or brass wire whose

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Fig. 133. Ntum Woman from Akonangí (Ewandun Family).

ends are entwined like two tendrils (nkí'b I, Fig. 136, a), or fine brass wire wound around itself (Fig. 136, b). They also wear bands braided from Oncocalamus and thick rings made of ivory or elephant bones (ekí'm e ló'k) or an imitation made from the wood of the Alstonia (ekílk) called ló'k ekílk, "elephant" (that is, ivory from the Alstonia). All three varieties are especially worn by chiefs. Among the Jaunde there are attractively worked, thin arm hoops made of ivory.

Finger rings (Fig. 137) are made of ivory (a), horn (1)

[482 291]

1. Of the black-rumped duiker-buck, Cephalophus callipygus Pet. (mvín IV).

(b) blackened in soffia palm oil, and brass. Of the latter there are spirals (c-d), simple thin rings whose ends are slightly entwined (e), bands, and thicker, often slightly ornamented hoops (f).

By and large, leg ornaments are similar to those for the arm; here too, shorter brass spirals worn above the knee are the most frequent. Women also wear them just below the knee and, again, they alone wear longer ones which extend from the middle of the calf down to the ankle. In addition, both sexes wear massive or hollow brass rings as well as the peculiar, finely decorated brass foot covers (ebat, ngí'b IV). /186/

515 (mfûm-e-ndźik IV) and the Simarubacea Odyendea gabunensis
279 (Pierre) Engl. (ozók). Furthermore, the Leguminosa Tephrosia
124 vogelii H. f. (ndáwólō III) and the Ochnacea Lophira alata Banks (akóga) are put on the hair. /Fig. 138 appears here in the original text./

In the helmet hairdo, under whose thick pads the lice cannot be reached by hand, they are killed by a special procedure. "Lice caps" made of plantain leaves and tightly fitted are placed

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Fig. 138. Ntum Woman from the Campo Region.

on the head after the bark of the Flacourtiacea Caloncoba welwitschii (Oliv.) Gilg (miegegúmo III) has been put in it, the bark having first been scraped off and moistened.

302 The hairdos are always greased with oil; also short hair is
824 tended very carefully, moistened with oil and combed out. There are two /188/ kinds of comb (mvás IV), those carved entirely out

1: Tessmann--313 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 2. Fang Youths (Essúuong and Omwang Families), Spanish Guinea.

1: Tessmann--315 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

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Fig. 4. Ntum from Bébai (Esseng Family).

1: Tessmann--340 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

Plate XV

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Woman from Bebai (Eseng Family). Ntum Region.

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Fig. 57. Washing the Forehead at the Love Medicine Festival.

times, and in the case of very recalcitrant drops, the medicine was wiped down the bridge of the nose with a bundle of Abutilon leaves. The festive company then moved to the cult place, in this case called a love grove (elik andʏmăn). Just as the cult figures are usually set up on the trees (because of the sorcerous beings, trees with spikes are chosen) and just as the medicines for wealth are made up under the soul tree, the Copaifera, in the same way the love tree belongs to the love grove, namely the Leguminosa Amphimas tessmannii Harms (edĭi,) (1). In Ebăngon the tree was only a small one, but

[778]
[829]
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1. a dĭi-á, "to love."

often they are huge specimens. In the background a kind of bench of rods was erected, and under it were heaped a great many twigs of various trees regarded as love medicine. Then the ancestral skulls were set up behind the bench, and the twigs ignited. Those persons who needed an improvement in their love affairs, /161/ /Fig. 57 appears here in the original text/ lay down on the bench and allowed themselves to be thoroughly

2: Tessmann--59 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 184/ Plate XXV

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Fang with a "Gotra" on his back.

2: Tessmann--91 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 206/ Plate XXVI

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Chief of Nschúggebot (Ojek Family), Spanish Guinea.

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785 sun) -- or with elephant's meat, in which case the child is sup-
556 posed to become spiritually great and important, just as the ele-
[825] phant surpasses the other animals physically, or, finally, with the meat of the hedgehog -- the child is to get as many things as the hedgehog has quills (1).

[539] 1. A well-known proverb, to be intelligible, would have to be translated into Pangwe something like this: He is as full of stupidities as the hedgehog is full of quills.

785 Thus, the child becomes miăk. Its loincloth is taken off
831 and from now on -- be it male or female -- it must go about completely naked. Here is another significant fact regarding
[834] the moral-religious view of the Pangwe: clothing, that is, the
[291] covering of the sex organs, arose because the sense of shame (o-so-n) which started with the first sin (n-sŏ-m, root so), that is, sexual intercourse, demanded it. If the innocent state (ignorance of sexual matters) is artificially restored, clothing becomes unnecessary.

The miăk are generally respected. People are careful not to speak to them about sexual matters or to seduce the girls, espe-
[664] cially since /270/ the protection which they are accorded by custom is effectively strengthened through the right of the father or the relatives to shoot down the seducer without further ado wherever they find him. Nowadays, however, the old customs have been somewhat relaxed; the miăk are not always what they ought to be.

Annulment of the chastity obligation takes place in the same solemn manner when the consecrated person is fully grown, in other words, not before the age of 20 years. In the case of the man, it is required that he prove himself the bravest in war or at least that he has shot an enemy (1). In the case of the girl, it is

[177] 1. Today, in the regions influenced by the Whites, this decree has had to be moderated.

[583] required of the suitor that, contrary to the usual custom, he pay

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[854]
[291]
[142]

Fig. 87. Boy about Seven Carrying a Child, Bébai (Esseng Family), South Cameroons.

861 everything that is on his mind. Also, any kind of influence in
593 the family unit is wielded only by the chief wife and /291/ even by her only to a limited extent. In all problems of life the father, as head of the family, remains the real friend and counselor of his son, as does the mother for her daughter.

861 In this way the love of the parents gently leads the child
593 through the realm of youth. However, once the boy has matured
578 into a young man, the obstinacy with which nature has to a spe-
626 cial degree endowed the Pangwe, sometimes asserts itself even in the face /Fig. 88 appears here in the original text/ of paternal authority. In such a case, it is sometimes only the most effective and most feared means of education that helps to lead the

[Text continues on page 168]

2: Tessmann--162 E-5 (1904-1909) 1913 FH9 Fang FH9

/Facing 290/ Plate XXVII

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Woman from Alen (Essauong Family) with a Child.

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[291]

Fig. 118. Fang People at a Wrestling Match in Alén (Essauong Family). Left, before the selection; right, wrestling.

To the right one can see two combatants wrestling. Each grip, even hooking one's foot behind that of the opponent, and every feint designed to bring down the opponent by any possible method of surprise is considered wholly admissible. /319/

The victory is determined when one of the opponents touches the ground with both shoulders. If he merely falls on one side and the other combatant does not immediately succeed in pressing his shoulders to the ground, the round is regarded as undecided (verb, a kɨ́ nɨ̌n). In doubtful cases the judges, who, armed with sticks, circle around the pair during the match, determine the victor.

[292] The victor (ngbɔ̄, III, from a gbɔ̄, = to throw) is hoisted onto the shoulders of members of his kin group (a bɔ̄(g)e matɨ́tɨ́) and carried off amidst singing and hooting. Usually members of different kin groups or at least of different villages fight one another, doubtless a relic from former times when wrestling was a more serious means of combat.

(Alexandre and Binet--42 G-5 (1946-1954) 1958 FH9 Fang FH9

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1. This lack is also pointed out by Balandier, op. cit., p. 544.

A careful study of village names in several subdivisions has not urned up a name that seems connected with ideas of market, exhange, or trade. Moreover, vocabularies for such subjects are very imited.

And, into this land so unprepared for an economic /sic/ life, vorld economy is penetrating with all its complexity, setting a purhase price for the total output, which has fluctuations the planters bviously cannot understand. Their dismay is natural, since they ave not even been able to become familiar with ideas about price, emand, or bargaining through traditions of trade.

It goes without saying that the time when salt was the item most n demand is long since past. However, bags of salt appear among raditional wedding presents, and the manufacture of salt from lyeashed palm ash is still known, though the product is only sold — nd moreover very rarely—for its medicinal properties.

Expenditures have become extremely diversified, as shown by he analysis of an average family budget: (2)

2. These figures drawn from Budgets familiaux au Cameroun /Family Budgets in the Cameroons/, p. 150, do not take into account, we must remember, auto consumption.

ood	14 percent	Household articles .	1.9 percent
Textiles	17.4 -	Equipment	7.7 -
Bride price	13 -	Taxes	8.5 -
Housing and furniture . .	7.5 -	Medicaments . . .	1.3 -
Bedding	1.5 -	Education	0.9 -
Lighting and upkeep . . .	3 -	Gifts and miscellaneous . .	6 -
Trips	2 -		

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Food now includes, even in the bush, imported items like stockfish or like the bread, sardines, sugar, and condensed milk that are used less regularly. Clothes are the main item of expense. The desire to follow Paris fashions is perhaps not a national trait peculiar

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511 to Pahouin women, but it is certainly a geographical characteristic of
[29] the southern Cameroons, consequently, the textiles for sale are to a great extent those sold in Europe. Specifically African prints, such as "wax-prints," are dying out. Underclothes, stockings, and shoes reflect the sophistication that goes with wealth. The purchase of durable goods that go under the heading "Equipment," (bicycles, phonographs, pressure lamps) is another symptom, as is the changing
[445] demand for household articles. /35/ While the saucepan is still the basic kitchen utensil, enamelware is in strong competition with
[513] crockery and glass. Blankets are used everywhere, but the use of sheets is also on the increase.

439 A mere list of commodities shows the present-day importance of
441 trade. The native populations have not always realized this, owing to their lack of inclination for it. They have not started businesses and have often left this to immigrants, coastal people long familiar with European ways, particularly the Bamiléké or "Haoussa," /Hausa/ who for their part have a solid trading tradition and great capacities in this field. The Boulou especially despise trade and refuse to have anything to do with it. Other Pahouin peoples are not so strongly antipathetic, but their business activity remains very limited.

Is it this bankruptcy on the part of the indigenous people and this
443 taking over by "foreigners" which explains the organization and the
184 location of trade in the region? The villages are in fact very badly
441 served; markets are few and far between and so are rural shops. Perhaps we ought to note differences between the various Pahouin and Pahouinized groups. While a village trader is always most uncommon in Boulou country in spite of the relative affluence of the planters, he is not unknown in Ewondo districts and is quite often to be met with among the Eton, where resources are, nevertheless, more limited. Without local trade the collecting of crops and specifically of cacao posed quite a problem, to which the coming of buyers brought a solution. Business houses advance money to the buyers and buy what they are able to bring back. From hut to hut along the trails buyers negotiate purchases with planters. With these "purchases by peddling" it might seem logical for sales by peddling to develop. Yet this phenomenon is quite recent, being tied up with the development of transportation by car and bicycle. But while the buyers are generally native to the region, the pedlars are nearly always foreign.

[459] As house-to-house buying creates countless disadvantages, the administration has endeavored to create rural markets so that the public

The group displays powerful shoulder girth, rather well-developed calf, pronounced arch, ungual phalanges that cannot be pulled back.

The explorers of the last century were one and all struck by the difference in physical appearance between the Pahouin and their neighbors, much less evident today, particularly to a European (the Pahouin themselves often recognize a stranger from quite a distance). It is possible that at the time of conquest the Pahouin may have had a heavier meat diet than did the coastal populations or do their present-day descendants: the hippopotamus has been exterminated, and the rest of the wild fauna has been greatly reduced, while even animal breeding and rearing is on the decline.

b. Clothing, Ornaments, Body Marks

The traditional clothing as described by explorers hardly exists any more. One sometimes meets in remote villages the beaten fig-bark breechcloth, ɔbɔ̂m, and the monkeyskin hat-wig, afɔ́'ɔlɔ̂, which was the men's everyday dress, with a wide belt of antelope skin, ases, holding a sort of sporran as well as a saber sheath. Battle dress and full dress have become very rare; they included, in addition to a red-dyed ɔbɔ̂m, a tailpiece /sɛ́ant/ of tiger-cat skin or of drill or any animal with bright fur, fringed leggings of the same fur, and a sort of cloak made of leopard or gorilla skin with the head sometimes forming a hood; there was a headdress of beads hanging down to the shoulders or arranged in the hair, with a tuft of touraco or juggler-eagle /aigle-bateleur/ feathers. Weapons consisted of the saber, fa, the dagger, otyen —both double bladed, the spear, akɔ̃n, or rifle, ngal (the cross-bow, mfan, was more a hunting weapon, and the bow, ngale, a toy). Defensive armor included an oblong shield, ngu or ɛ́ndɛk, of plaited lianas or of leather, sometimes made of an elephant ear. Even today men do not like to leave home without a weapon, at least in the villages; formerly, they were always armed. Men's jewelry comprised copper bracelets and teeth necklaces—of either animal's or men's teeth—chains of copper, iron, ivory, or elephant hair. Protective "medicaments" mebiaŋ, were usually carried in an antelope horn (Cephalophus sylviculturix), nla' zip, hung around the neck or wrist on a strip of leather or snakeskin—a practice that still survives. The ceremonial costumes for the different rites /86/ included masks, mantles of dried grass, beads, or cowries.

301 Women wore only a sort of double apron of grass or leaves, azem
[291] or abui, fastened to a belt of cylindrical steatite beads, nsanga; bracelets, mekom, of ivory or copper shaped like spools; ankle chains, bibat, of cast copper, very heavy; and an enormous necklace of cast copper, nkembé, which was put on a little girl when she entered her
[764] affinal household and which could not be removed until after death, by cutting apart the body or melting the necklace or awaiting decomposition. All this jewelry belonged to, and remained in, the husband's
[422] family, even in case of divorce; the ésa was the person who distributed it among his wives and daughters-in-law. Flat bracelets were made of
306 "neptunes" or "benares" /?/ imported from the coast; later on they made, and still make, rings and bracelets from cartridge cases and telegraph wire. But the origin of the cast minkembé /plural/ is still a mystery; the technique of metal casting is unknown or forgotten; placer or lode copper is very rare, not only in the present Pahouin
[325] habitat but also where they seem to have come from. Furthermore, these very old necklaces resist corrosion and have a very pale patina indicating some kind of alloy; moreover, the nearest workers in bronze the Bamum, do not make this kind of necklace.

291 Men's dress at the present time is usually of the European type,
[177] from shorts and sports shirt to the surplus American cap; those who wear shoes have European footwear, leather or canvas according to their income, or in the style of the Arabic—silifa, from English "slipper" = babouche, of Hausa or Peul manufacture. Mention should be made of the helmets and kepis of umbrella-tree wood and the fake spectacles of slivers of raffia "bamboo." In the villages or at home, imported loincloths are rolled around a belt or tied behind the neck.

Women also wear a loincloth, éndelé, tied at the neck or rolled tight above the breasts when they have nothing else on, rolled at the waist when wearing the "mission jacket," éwoman (apparently from "woman"). The favorite head covering is still the kerchief, éyañese (from "handkerchief"). More and more women are also wearing cut and sewn European-style dresses, bizingi; often a kind of slip; no
[941] panties except for a few young modernists (who call them caleçons, "drawers"); and internal sanitary napkins made of medicinal plants.
[747] Mission activity has spread notions of prudery; formerly only those
834 past puberty were obliged to cover their sexual parts. Women did so with great care in spite of the casual nature of their clothing; the greatest insult to a woman was to uncover her vulva in public; she never

uncovered it except when uttering a curse. Nowadays most women cover their breasts (1) with almost equal vigilance. /87/ In old-

1. The aesthetic standard in this connection is changing, especially in towns, as a result of European (cinema?) influence; one only rarely sees girls binding their breasts with strips of bark or cloth to make them fall.

fashioned villages widows still go back to the traditional dress after their seclusion: for eight days, sometimes longer, they wear the ébui made of leaves, which is then replaced by an old ôbôm or a jute sack that leaves the head and shoulders and thighs bare, then by a sack or an old khaki dress shaped like a sack with holes for head and arms.

Boys and girls used to run around naked until the first signs of puberty appeared, usually the pubic hair (Boulou, afaff /"h." in the text must be a misprint for "b."—Tr./; Fang, avul). Boys wore a special breechcloth of a special vegetable /material/ after circumcision while waiting for the wound to heal and afterwards had to wear a covering only if they had already started to grow hair. At present they wear clothes from the beginning of school age and even before that in militant Christian families and the urban bourgeoisie.

Body marks have fallen out of use with the exception of circumcision. First the men stopped filing their incisors to a point. Tattooing persisted longer, in Gabon until just before the Second World War. At present tattooing is being revived among urban pickpockets and syncretist associations. The face was tattooed, usually *between the eyes but sometimes on the cheeks, with blue markings* made of soot mixed with vegetable ash, or in red with padouk /?/ powder, baa. These marks could indicate clan or association affiliation, or even were imposed during or after a course of medico-magical treatment, or even to satisfy aesthetic demands. It was the same for cicatrices engraved in relief on chest or abdomen, which are nowadays described as being "to make nyanga" ("pretty," Coast English—of Hausa origin?). It is quite possible that some of the magic significance has been forgotten. The most important marks were the dorsal scarifications made at initiation: a triple row of incisions along the vertebral column, widening into a v at the nape

881 look at it as a vestige of primitive tradition.
304 To the Fan mind, circumcision is altogether a religious,
779 never a secular, act; everything that I shall have to say about it will illustrate this further.

2) The age of circumcision

The age at which Fan boys are circumcised usually varies from seven to ten. I have never seen a baby circumcised. However, there is nothing prescribed by law or custom on this point. Yet in the interior, the age of ten is far exceeded, and it is not unusual for the operation to take place between sixteen and twenty. Old men are unanimous in saying that this was the ancient custom, and that the time for the operation was made earlier in recent times because of the many casualties that occurred. It is impossible to determine precisely what they mean by "recent times." However, according to all the evidence I could gather, one should hardly go back [522] more than 200 to 300 years, that is, to the time of the great Fan migrations. We can see how unlikely it would have been during that period of confusion to perform the operation successfully at so late an age.

Formerly, circumcision must have closely preceded entering the warrior stage. Certain Fan songs seem to indicate this, and many African tribes have preserved the custom.

All the children of a village are circumcised at the same time at the tribal chief's command; the operation only takes place at certain times, when there appear to be enough children, yearly in some villages, at longer intervals in small ones.

• [291] Until circumcision, children may go naked; afterwards a bit of cloth bark of the fig tree will always be worn.

881 The seven-to-ten-year limit is appreciably exceeded in
304 the following case: a father may, out of pride, make a solemn
779 vow to his akaméyɔ̀n that his son will not be circumcised until
782 he [the son] has killed an enemy. Under those conditions the youth may go naked for a long time; nor can he have any relations with a woman or even live with the one his father may have bought for him as a future wife. Consequently, he will

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

142
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FANG MEN.

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FANG BOYS.

[p.66(B)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 FH9 Fang FH9

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482
142

FANG WOMAN.

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411

FANG WARRIORS.

[p. 666(C)]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F319 Fang F319

the palaver house, where he loves to sit and gossip around the log fire, or lounge on the *Bang* (a native bed of poles). 517

Dancing is a favourite pastime, especially at the time of new moon, when the dance seems to have some religious significance. A Fang dance is a sight worth seeing; arrayed in long streaming armlets of dried grass, and large bunches of forest leaves and molluscs shells tied around the ankles for castanets, they go through a series of rapid and graceful movements, some of which are not entirely free from obscenity. Flaming torches made of resin wrapped in plantain leaves are stuck in the ground and the drums keep up a perfect fusillade; the whole making a weird and extremely interesting spectacle. With short intervals of rest the dance usually continues throughout the night until daybreak (photo of dance shown on screen). 535 573

III.—*Clothing, Ornaments, Painting and Tattooing.*

Fang men and women usually go about bareheaded; some obtain imported straw and felt hats from the traders and are very proud of them. A red worsted night-cap sold at the factories is very popular and much worn. These head coverings are chiefly worn for ornament and not to afford protection from the sun or weather. Until the opening up of trade among the Fang people their clothing amounted to almost nothing. The men wore a waist cloth made of bark from certain trees, a strong, tough, fibrous material, and the women wore a girdle stripped from the plantain stem, with some leaves from the bush or a piece of the plantain leaf tucked through the girdle in front and passed downward, backward and upward between the limbs and fastened to the girdle behind. Very often the women wore a kind of bustle made of dried grass dyed black, or red. In sitting down the women are very careful to first arrange the bustle. The native bark cloth, the girdle and bustle, are still worn in the bush towns; the women often make the girdle of imported glass beads strung on string made from pineapple fibre, but people living in towns along the river banks wear imported clothes obtained in trade. As a general rule boys and girls run about without clothing until five or six years of age. Imported cloth is worn by both sexes and is often sewn together very skilfully and decorated with pieces of different colours. There *are no recognised peculiarities of dress restricted to the subdivisions of tribes.* The cloth is cut out and sewed by each individual owner unless it is a trade cloth previously sewn. Cloth is usually laoumed and worn as a simple wrapper around the waist, and held in place by rolling in and tucking the upper border on itself. The upper portion of the body is not much covered by the cloth although some men and women wear it tied high up around the neck. There is no difference between the indoor and outdoor clothing. When imported needles and thread can be obtained they are used, but I have seen very skilful sewing done with a sharp piece of bamboo for a needle and thread made of pineapple fibre. Upon the death of parents, clothes descend to the children. In saluting a visitor it is not customary to remove a hat or cap, if one is being worn, or any other article of clothing. 291 ● 516 549 [573] [578] [579]

8: Bennett D-5 (ca. 1898) 1899 F749 Fang F749

clothing. The Fang do not use any coverings to protect the feet. Rank is not distinguished by the dress, very often the brightest and cleanest wrappers are worn by the young men while the *bomo* (headman) is often clothed in a dirty old rag. Very often the *bomo* wears an imported straw or felt hat obtained in trade, and this alone distinguishes him as headman of the town. Next to the possession of women and guns, a Fang man's great desire is to own "much cloth."

Personal Ornaments.

Head.—The Fang dress their hair in the same manner as the Bulu, and the way they build it up on the head over wooden shapes is often very remarkable and shows considerable skill. Very often the hair is built up over these shapes in ridges, the upper edge of the ridge having white shirt buttons fastened along it or brass headed tacks driven in. Wigs are used and very skilfully made. Very often the term wig would be a misnomer, for the ingenious contrivance made to fit over the bald head is often entirely devoid of hair, being simply a close-fitting skull cap knitted with string made from the pineapple fibre. The wigs are usually decorated with shirt buttons or imported glass beads. The hair is frequently plaited and twisted into ringlets by both sexes, dyeing the hair is not practised. Beads and white shirt buttons are worn on the hair in large quantities, also large cowrie shells dyed with red wood powder. The beads and buttons are often sewed on pieces of goat or deer skin, a separate portion decorating each side of the head, connected by a string of beads passing across the forehead.

Moustaches are seldom cultivated, beards when worn are allowed to grow naturally, but both are frequently removed by depilation; shaving is not practised. Ornaments are frequently worn in the ears, and are usually suspended by a small cord passed through a hole in the lobe. Women and young girls when returning from work in the forest or gardens frequently cluster grasses, leaves of vines and fragrant herbs around their ears; it is a rather pretty custom. Certain fetish charms are worn suspended from the ear; women frequently use for an ear fetish the small quills from a porcupine's tail, and they say it will bring them children. Brass and iron ear-rings are also worn.

Males do not seem to feel inclined to ornament the nose, but many Fang women delight to do so. They pierce the triangular cartilage with a long slender bamboo pin: the pins sometimes project out three inches on either side of the nose. Very often a medium-sized porcupine quill is used as the ornament, in place of bamboo; it certainly looks better. Some women thus decorated look very repulsive. A female who is credited with considerable power as a medicine woman will almost invariably have the nose pierced and decorated. Ornaments are not worn on the lips or cheeks.

Body.—Men, women, and children wear necklaces of glass beads, the beads of very small cartridges, and certain forest leaves are strung and worn around the neck. Bristles from the tail of an elephant are used for the same purpose. When